[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads Moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

• 628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole tribe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence [685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

In Tarim: Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

In Seiyun: Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

[The Hadhramaut tribesmen — Analyst]

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I never heard a suggestion from masters or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

Subians.

The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population. Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*", a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

Immigration.

Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies, which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Badra and Haura.

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635 The following are descriptions of the tribes more closely connected with the province :—
619
[162]

SEIBANI.

Class.	Section.	Places.	Nos.
101 Marāshida ...		Living round the province of Du'an.	400—500
	Bā Dabeiduh		
	Bā Beitar		
	Bā Dhrus	—	
	Bā Kardas		
	Bā Sara		
Khāmā		—	300—900
	Bā Surra		
	Bā Kadim		
	Bā Sallum		
	Bā Rashid		
Hāika		Hūfa in Wadi Leisar	300—800
	Bā Dajeil		
	Bā Sa'd		
	Bā Nakhar		
	Al Biadha		
	Bā Khashwein		
As Sumūh			500—1,000
	Shaka'i		200
	Bā Wazim		
	Jodani		
	Jahzami		
	Bā Buteiya		
	Ghuth		
Al Meshājir	—	Husn Ba'ba', Wadi Yeb'uth.	250
Al Qathm	—	—	100
Al Hamidī	—	—	400
			2,450—4,150

[162]

619 The Seibani Zei are said to be part of a Confederation which
631 includes the 'Awābitha and Āl Heik tribes. They extend from the
369 Hamumi country on the east to the Nūwah on the west. The Nahd and Kathīri tribes bound them on the north, and the Beni Hasan on the south. The tribe are partly nomad and partly settled and they own villages round Mukalla and in Wadis Du'an, Leisar, and Huweira; many of them live in 'Aura and Qurein in Wadi Du'an. The settled Seibanis, like other townsmen land-owners, are subject to taxation on their date groves by the Qu'aiti whom they acknowledge in full sovereignty. The nomads acknowledge Qu'aiti suzerainty but pay no taxes. Their country is at present the safest for travelling and a *siyar* is unnecessary. The Qu'aiti pays the tribe an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

619 Muhammad bin 'Umar and Ahmed bin 'Umar Bā Surra of the
622 Khāmā clan of the Seibani, the Qu'aiti Governors of the Du'an
638 province, are also the paramount *Muqaddams* of the tribe. Inter-tribal disputes are settled by reference to the heads of neutral clans, more important cases being carried to the Bā Surras and the Shatiri Seiyid who is their *Mansab*. The Mihdhār family of Seiyids descended from Sheikh Abubekr, also have great influence

1G ... 9/... [illegible] — Analyst

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with the whole tribe, as have the 'Amūdi Sheikhs of Budha and Tila who exercise considerable authority, in as much as they can on their own initiative interfere and declare a fight between the Seibani and Hamumi as ended on the Seibani side. The Qathm clan, who live furthest from the sea and ply their camels between Du'an and Hadhramaut, have the following *mansabs*, Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari, and Hussein 'Abdulla al Isma'il.

Of the clans and sections given above, the Handbook of Arabia mentions the Bā Sara and the Sumūh, and also the Basariyah and Bā Qūr whose names I did not obtain. The Marāshida clan are nomads, owning about 1,200 camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Du'an and Hadhramaut. In November 1934, this clan were at feud with the Sumūh.

The Khāmā are a hardy, nomad people, owning cattle and sheep and about 1,000 camels. The Bā Kadīm section are the strongest in numbers but the Bā Surra the most important. The Hālka clan have grazing lands round Mukalla extending towards Wadi Leisar. They own about 300 to 400 loading camels which they ply for hire between Mukalla and Hadhramaut via Wadi Leisar. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the clan and pays them an annual subsidy. The Biadha are a very small section, and the Bā Khashwein, though not really a section, live under the protection of the Hālka and are so closely allied to them that they are generally considered one of their sections.

The Sumūh, who own about 600 camels, are the largest clan. Their grazing lands lie round Mukalla extending to the borders of Hajr on the west and to the high lands of Du'an on the north. They have long been settled in the country they inhabit. The Qu'aiti pays the clan an annual subsidy and has an " A " agreement with them.

'AMŪDI.

The tribe consists of the following clans: Āl Motahhar, Āl Muhammad bin Sa'id, Āl Ahmed bin Muhammad, Āl Baghābira, Āl Saklu', Ash Sheikh 'Umar al Munasib, Āl Batuk (Bin Tuk), Āl Badahia (Bin Dahia), Āl Bā 'Abd al Qadir, Āl Bā Ahmed, Āl at Teiyar, Āl Barubeid, Āl Faqih, Āl Bajumā, Āl Basamad, Āl Kushan, As Suq'an, Āl Batawīl, Āl Basaqr, Āl Abubekr, Āl Barnusa and Āl Bayasin.

The 'Amūdi or Beni 'Isa live in Wadi Du'an and on the plateau of Reidat ad Deiyin. They are descended from one Sa'id bin 'Isa known as 'Amūd ad Dīn, and the men bear the title of Sheikh. They were once paramount in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, but in 1900 when, with a force of about 1,100 men, they advanced and occupied Qurein and 'Aura, the Qu'aiti collected men from Khoreiba and Rashid and these, reinforced from Mukalla, broke the power of the 'Amūdis once for all. They fled to the mountains and treated for peace, but were permitted to return to Sif and Budha and gradually obtained possession of a considerable area of fertile land in Wadi Du'an and Wadi Leisar.

[See also 92 and 54 116 -- Analyst]

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Clan.	Section.	Places.	Nos.	'Aqil.
Bin Yamāni and their slaves ...	—	Qasm	80	'Ali bin Ahmed bin Imani.
Āl Sa'id, Bin 'Uthmān, and Āl Dahnān.	—	Al Khōn	80	'Umar bin 'Awadh bin Sa'id.
Āl Qafīa, Āl Barakeiz, Āl Heithwa, and Āl Nubeid.	—	As Sōm	50	Khartf
Āl as Sa'd	—	'Asum	45	'Isa
Samāh al 'Usba	—	Al 'Usba	15	'Aidha bin 'Atūfa.
Beit Bal Hateish	—	Fughma	25	—
Āl Bin Kōb	—	Sha'b Hud	15	'Awadh bin al 'Ahidl.
Bin Marsaf	Al Fahd	—	120	—
Ash Sheiban	5 sections	—	—	—
			847	

The Tamimi are a part nomad, part settled tribe, living in the main wadi from the neighbourhood of Tarim to beyond Qasm. They have been allied to the Qu'aiti, with whom they have an "A" agreement, for a long time, and have had a long-standing feud with the 'Awāmir and Kathīris which was terminated by the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The Kathīri Sultans have no jurisdiction over them but it is said that the Tamimis are allied to them for purposes of defence. Disputes between the Tarim Government and the Tamimis are settled by negotiation or Qu'aiti interference.

The Tamimis emigrate to Java and the East African Coast, but they are a poor tribe. They grow wheat, lucern, vegetables, jowari, and other crops, on well irrigation. A large amount of land in the Tamimi territory is the property of the rich townsmen of Tarim and Dammūn which the Bin Silma cultivate, and they are generally safe and honest. At harvest time, however, Beduins come from across the northern hills, which are quite close to the cultivation here, settle in the groves, and do a certain amount of damage. Like most wadi dwellers from Tarim eastwards the Tamimis obtain their supplies from Shihr rather than Seihut, though Seihut sends regular caravans as far as 'Einat.

The Bin Qasīr clan is sometimes considered as divided into four sections, the Āl Kibl, Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar, Bin Dahdūh, and Beit Bal Hateish. The Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed clan is sometimes called a section of the Ash Sheiban clan; the latter is said to be divided into five sections. The Bin Silma is said to be the strongest clan and is stated to have four sections.

The *mansabs* of the Tamimi are 'Umar bin Zein Āl 'Abdulla bin Aqil Sheikh for the Āl Yamāni, Hasan bin 'Alawi al 'Aqīl, Ahmed bin 'Aqil, Āl Matahar, Tahir bin Bubekr Āl Tahir for the Balheij, and 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shibab for the Bin Silma.

[* See page 12, category 116 -- Analyst]

631
619
101

The 'Awāmir are a part settled, part nomad, tribe living between An Neiza and Ghurf in the main Wadi Hadhramaut due south of Tarim and the northern mountains. Their territory includes Tarba, Wadi, Thibi, An Neid, and Al Misbqās, and in the main valley their settlements are in Wadi Tarba on the right bank, the opposite bank being entirely devoid of vegetation. They obtain their imported supplies of food from Shihr. The Qu'aiti has a " B " agreement with the 'Awāmir, whose armed strength has been estimated at from 600 to 1,000.

Beduin sections of the tribe, said to number some thousands, live in the Oman Sultanate; they belong to the Bin Khamis, Bin Kallla, and Awanza clans. Miles refers to the 'Awāmir in Oman as follows: " The Awāmir are both Bedoo and Ibadhi, are of Maaddic stock, and claim descent from Amr bin Saasaa, but are now Hinawi.[1] The Bedouin and larger portion of this tribe roam the desert as far as Dhofar, but the settled portion of the tribe occupy a group of twelve villages near Nezwa in Orman Proper. They number about 1,200 or 1,400 souls and the shaikhs reside at Kuriatain. The Bedouins are very wild and savage and are said to speak a dialect of their own. The Awāmir are at feud with the Jenebeh and have about thirty fakhths " (sub-divisions). He also states that they are said to " traverse the desert very extensively, and probably no part of it, except the Dahna, is altogether inaccessible to them. Part of the Awāmir tribe are settled in the Province of Oman Proper and follow agricultural pursuits. The Bedouin portion of the Awāmir is perhaps the most widely scattered of all the Oman tribes, wandering as far as Hadhramaut in a state of semi-savagedom, and it is probable that no wilder or more predatory race exists in Arabia."

" The Awāmir at Ras Noos ", he says, " are genuine Bedoos and wear Hadhramaut clothes and speak a different dialect to Oman; it is hardly intelligible but is better Arabic." He goes on to say that some 'Awāmir came to Muscat overland on camels and in some places were five or six days without water. He also mentions the 'Awāmir as being one of the chief Omani tribes engaged in camel breeding, and possessing large herds of these animals.

[628]

It is a custom among the 'Awāmir that if two clans are in dispute a third may interfere to settle. The Bin Salim clan are sometimes stated to be a section of the Bin Hatāb. The Al Muhammad section of the Bin Kallla are said to be both settled and nomadic, but the As Sūeid section are purely nomad. The Qu'aiti states that he has a B agreement with the Al Beihan al 'Awāmir which presumably refers to the section of the Bin Kasbūba.

The As Salibīa Seiyids have influence over the Bin Hatāb and Kasbūba clans, Seiyid 'Abdulla bin Ahmed Bu Futein has influence over the clans living in Tarba, and Seiyid Tahir bin Bubakr Āl Tahir over the Āl Muhammad.

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[1] This is clearly an error, vide genealogical tree.

7 [See page 92, category 116 -- Analyst]

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The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province, including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious inaccuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau. Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.

In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

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The elected hereditary tribal Chiefs form the third type. In each tribal confederation there is a central tribe. Of this central tribe one family only provides Chiefs to the confederation. Normally the election of a Chief is the concern, not of his family only, but of the central tribe, while powerful petty Chiefs of other tribes within the confederation have a considerable say in it. Such Chiefs are, by virtue of the conditions of their election, truly democratic. By ancient tradition, however, they are held in great respect and are referred to invariably, as is their family, as the "Dola," or dynasty. They are accorded high-sounding titles by the Government and by other Chiefs, but their tribesmen address them by their names, and it would appear that the high-sounding titles are of recent adoption in the country. The Imam of San'a rarely uses them. Government correspondence is, for this reason, often a source of merriment.

It will be seen that all Chiefs are, whatever their type, elected in a greater or lesser degree—the Suzerains within their family circle and the hereditary Chiefs within their tribe. The main difference between the types is that, whereas the Suzerains are of foreign descent to the tribes over which they rule, the hereditary Chiefs are of the tribe and, as such, do not need to surround themselves with the trappings of imposed authority. In appearance the Suzerains are more imposing, and this has misled officials into supposing that they are of more consequence socially than other Chiefs are. This is, of course, not so.

In all these types of Chief, when the Chief dies his eldest son would appear, by custom, to have less right to succeed than others. Suzerains always try to impose their eldest or their favourite son as accepted heir during their lifetimes. This has happened in Lahej, where it led to a revolt among the Sultan's relations, and in Makalla by arrangement. The Sharifs of Beihan have been exceptions to this, and have abided by custom. When Sharif Ahmad died, they held discussions among themselves. The eldest son was Sharif Hussein, but he was appointed Regent to his own eldest son, a young boy, who was elected Sharif. The reason given for this was that the grandson of the dead Chief had longer to live than his father and that frequent change in leadership was a bad thing. As a rule, however, Chiefly families pass the Chiefdoms from branch to branch, and, when the Chief dies, a nephew will usually succeed. Among the 'Audhali recently, the Chief was murdered by his cousin. The tribe was split in two by feud, but one half elected the murderer's son, a boy of eight years old, to the Chiefdom. This boy was accepted in 1934, when the feud ceased, as Sultan of the tribe.

We next come to the holy classes. The first of these are the Sharifs and Seyyids, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. They live in settlements and elect among themselves in each family a headman. They have great influence in the community, but it varies, of course, with the amount of their riches. Most Seyyids—the only Sharifs are those in Beihan—do not bear arms and take no part in tribal warfare. They are peacemakers, and derive considerable income as such, and as dispensers of the Sharia or holy law of Islam. They are treated with veneration and respect and, after death, are frequently treated as saints. They marry

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remained unchanged through centuries of the past and which was perhaps well suited to periods long ago, somehow or other have to adapt themselves to modern conditions.

That is the problem which Political Officers in a country like the Aden Protectorate have to face: that is to say, they have to give the best that we can offer to the people without doing at the same time harm, which so obviously might accompany our action if we were to press our own ideas too much on a social system so different from our own. That makes it all the more important—in fact, it is essential—that British Officers, Political Officers working in that country, should really understand the people as Mr. Hamilton understands them; that they should study them and specialise in their task, for otherwise it is only too easy to fall into serious errors and mistakes.

The question which remains to be answered is to what extent communities like these tribes can absorb or adapt themselves to these changes and to the conditions which they have to meet. As you know from what Mr. Hamilton has said, the units are very small. In some cases, such as Lahej and Mukalla, we have something approximating to what we regard as a regular government. But in some tribal areas the authority of the sheikh is very small; in fact, in some cases I think Mr. Hamilton would agree that it is practically non-existent. The tribal chief often has little real authority. He is merely one of the family, one of the tribe. The extent to which he can carry his authority depends largely on his personality.

We have also heard how the tribesmen, the landowning tribesmen, who regard themselves as the aristocracy of the country, are not a minority but a majority of the people. I once was talking to an Arab from the Protectorate, and I asked him: "What exactly is the difference between a tribesman and a subject?" He replied very briefly: "Well, a subject has to do what he is told, and a tribesman need not." If the tribesmen are in a majority, that makes it very difficult. I said to him: "What about your own tribe? Have you many subjects there or not?" He replied: "As a matter of fact, in my own particular tribe we have no subjects; we are all tribesmen, and that is what causes all the trouble."

If we want to help these people in matters like assisting them to develop their agriculture, to develop their resources in water (which is a necessary concomitant of any agricultural development), to give them help in medical matters (of which they are badly in need, for there is no such thing as even an approach to a medical service in any part of the Protectorate), to help them in education—I mean an education suitable to them—the first and foremost foundation must be some form of internal security. With so many of these small tribal communities immersed in old vendettas and blood feuds the security in the country is in some parts very slight. You cannot build up anything on a basis of anarchy and disorder, and the question arises whether these small tribal units are capable of establishing enough authority and of getting rid of anarchical conditions sufficiently to meet the needs of the time.

Our neighbour there, the Imam of the Yemen, maintains that many of these tribes are too small to enjoy any forms of independence. He says, in fact, that they ought to belong to him, and he would understand how

6; Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadramaut MM2

in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators.

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more complicated than in most places in the Protectorate.

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their centres.

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood feud, and there is little doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into their confederations and have shown the course which these confederations are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts, whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yemen, but there must have been before then.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I know of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hureidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Riuib,

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hospitality in the new house during the past year, and last hot weather nothing was more delightful than to sit in the swimming pool in the evening and listen to the strains of the B.B.C. Empire Orchestra. Since then the Arabic broadcasts have started and they are extremely popular throughout the Hadhramaut, which now sets its watches by Big Ben. Bathing over, dinner would be laid on carpets by the side of the bathing pool. One rarely sits down less than twenty at meals in Seiyid Bubekr's house and very often it is forty. The average daily consumption runs into about 30 to 40 lb. of rice, three or four dozen eggs, half a dozen chickens, and one or two sheep, and several pounds of vegetables. We went up for the wedding of his daughter, and then over five thousand people were fed for three days.

Seiyun has been our principal headquarters in the wadi, and from it I have continually visited all the neighbouring places, staying at Shibam, Al Qatn, Henin, Qa'udha, and Hureidha. You never get to Hureidha without stopping for a meal at Diyar al Buqri, where the people are so hospitable that they have been known to fire on those who have attempted to pass in cars without stopping to have a meal. The Buqri are Nahd, and although they are settled they are still rather Badu. On my first visit they offered us a large house if we would but stay and rule the country, and it was then I learned that they had imported a first-class cook from Java in the hope of being able to entertain Europeans. Great as is the hospitality and kindness of all the Nahd, the meals at Diyar al Buqri are as fine and as varied as anything you could get anywhere. Their ideas even of afternoon tea are on the most laviah scale. I have had it with them three times and on each occasion they have produced cakes, honey, and halwa, several varieties of tinned fruit, British biscuits, and super-cream toffees.

Beyond Diyar al Buqri, as you enter the Wadi 'Amd, stands a little fort with a sentry for ever gazing out. It was some time before I discovered that the sentry was a dummy, a lump of clay artistically draped with a black cloth, but in recent months I notice he has fallen into disrepair. The Nahd extend down into the Wadi 'Amd almost as far as Hureidha, of which the population consists entirely of Seiyids of the Al 'Attas family and their dependants. Here, too, I have several times stayed, and there is now a landing-ground. There is no need for me to say much about Hureidha as it is here that Miss Stark, Miss Caton-Thompson and Miss Gardner have been wintering. One interesting fact about Hureidha may however be too trivial for their notice, and that is that one of the mosques has two large town clocks, one with a face 6 feet in diameter and the other 3 feet. Only the latter works, and they are of course at the top of the high minaret. But they are inside the minaret, and you have to walk up sixty or seventy steps to see the time.

Up the wadi from Hureidha is the Ja'da tribe. I have not travelled farther up the wadi than Hureidha on foot, but before I went there for peace negotiations my wife did the journey on camel. The wadi is thickly populated and has numerous small villages which at that time were nearly all at war with each other. My wife took down particulars of thirty-two major feuds going on between sections and even between houses a few yards apart. There were trench systems, similar to those at Qa'udha, leading from the houses to the fields, but owing to the disturbed conditions cultivation had suffered badly

AND THERE WAS A GENERAL DESIRE FOR PEACE IN ORDER TO GET ON WITH THE WORK IN THE FIELDS.

Metre : Ramal, ||— — ∪ — | — — ∪ —

شَيْخَنَا عَلْوِى بِنَ أَحْمَدْ

539
621
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4. Al-Nuwaidarah

The patron saint of al-Nuwaidarah is Šihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Alī bin Abī Bakr al-Sakrān [16]. [792]

5. Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī

The tanṣūrah of this quarter mentions the saint of the ḥawṭah Šaiḫanā al-Ḥaddād, i.e. the celebrated saint and author 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaddād who is also known beyond the confines of Ḥaḍramawt. [792]

It would however seem that the term tanṣūrah is not confined to the rallying-cries of the quarters of the cities, for I can recall the word being used in the Daṯḥīnah area when tanṣūrahs were performed over the grave of a man whose murder had been successfully avenged. It is a cry used also by the tribes [17] in Ḥaḍramawt. [628]

Very similar to the Tamīmī tanṣūrah quoted by Landberg [18] is the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd of Tarīm. The 'Abīd have an organisation in many respects similar to that of the Masākīn with a headman (muḳaddam). Their tanṣūrah runs :

بَنِى سِوَيْدَ ٱلْغَلَّابَة

كَمْ مِنْ قَبِيلِى ظَفِرْنَا بِه

« Banī Siwaid, the conquering!
How many a tribesman have we overcome. »

Landberg remarks that the verse he quotes is defective, if one must see a metre in it, but the first half-verse which he gives corresponds exactly in metre to the first half-verse of the tanṣūrah of the 'Abīd.

16 « The Drunken » might, at first sight, seem an odd term to apply to a Muslim saint, but the term of course is Sufistic, and implies that he was drunk with the ecstasy of the knowledge of God. Some names are much more curious. I was told that the 'Aṭṭās saiyids derived their name from a miracle performed by their ancestor who is said to have been heard to sneeze while still in the womb! 551

17 Cf. de Landberg, Ḥaḍramoût (Leiden, 1901), p. 184.

18 Loc. laud.

21: Thomas T6 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only.

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *qasidas* which are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes, and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *qadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire of his wife and say *Tálag* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper, ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representative father or brother descend to the plain where a *qadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring—

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer cooks two hens' eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

LAW AND DISPUTES.

As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the law. The *hauz* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *hauz* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, *i.e.* holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea, the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. A *hauz* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders *Loum-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom, must bear the brunt.

good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea route to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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Of governmental administration as a whole, in spite of the comparative homogeneity of the region, there is none, in the usually accepted sense of the term. The tribal lords have no care for what are considered in Europe the duties of government. Education, police, and public works are left entirely to private initiative, and as a result the two last are almost entirely non-existent. Instruction alone flourishes, and that only among the Seyyids and townsmen. There are some schools for so-called primary, secondary, and higher instruction; in the two former the teaching is almost exclusively confined to language, grammar, and religion. The chief centre of higher instruction is at Seyyūn, where the Academy, known by the name Ribāt, is a sort of annexe to the Great Mosque; here there are about 100 students who receive free board and lodging and 300 outside students who pay fees of varying amounts. The teaching is confined to the intensive study of grammar, law, and theology, to the almost entire exclusion of the so-called modern sciences, astronomy (as interpreted by the Arabs) alone excepted. The study of medicine, among others, is entirely non-existent.

As for Law and Magistracy, the influence of the Seyyids is a powerful curb on any oppression by the Muqaddams or tribal lords, and in the Hadhramaut there is a sufficiently independent magistrature. The Seyyids have the greatest interest in seeing that the Mussulman law is honoured and respected, because the law and religion are one: the decadence of religion would inevitably bring about the loss of that superstitious respect which the people have for them as descendants of the Prophet.

Each town or village of any importance has a *Qādhi*, with a sub-Qādhi for the country district round about. The Qādhis are nominated by the Muqaddams, but the latter consult the Seyyids and renowned savants before fixing on their choice; sub-Qādhis are nominated by the Qādhis. The Qādhis have both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and base their decisions on the works of jurists of the Shafei rite. Judgements must be drawn up in writing and signed and sealed by the Qādhi who has delivered them, but can only be put into execution on authorization by the Muqaddam, who, however, uses his veto but rarely. The jurisdiction of the sub-Qādhis is limited to marriage and other acts of family life, the majority of the inhabitants of the country rarely having recourse to the judge in their other affairs. Differences between persons of the same family are in general adjusted by the Abu, and differences between persons belonging to different families by the Muqaddam. In the latter cases, failing accord, justice is settled

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by the law of the strongest; but if blood is spilt there generally arises a vendetta of long duration—there are examples of vendetta of from 20 to 30 years' duration for puerile reasons—and these sometimes involve and draw in whole tribes.

The political conditions of the Hadhramaut are referred to under the section Aden (see p. 193).

Towns

The larger towns in the Hadhramaut are not disagreeable in appearance. In general they are open and spacious, and comparatively clean; the streets are never paved, but, on account of the favourable climatic conditions and of the stony and porous nature of the soil, this is no serious drawback. Along the wider streets little streams of water (*mija*) frequently run. The principal towns have bastioned ramparts and gates, and these usually have a permanent guard and are shut at night; many towns in addition are flanked by towers (*kūt*) or castles (*hisn*, plur. *husūn*), whose garrisons are composed of armed slaves under the command of the dominant tribe. Some towns, and notably Terīm, have an extraordinary [illegible] of such exterior fortresses, distributed over a wide area, and occupying every commanding position available.

(*a*) The principal towns of the Ka'aiti clan are the following:

1. **Shiheir,** once the chief commercial port between Aden and Muscat, is now largely superseded by Makalla. The town, which is triangular in form, extends for about one mile along the shore, and on an eminence there is a fortified castle, the residence of the Jemadar, head of the Ka'aiti, which is visible from seaward before any other object in the town. A high, bastioned wall surrounds Shiheir, and among the prominent buildings are the Custom House and a picturesque mosque with white domes. The dwellings are much scattered and the population is about 6,000. The water is bad, but good supplies of sheep and vegetables may always be obtained. Bent describes Shiheir as 'a detestable place by the sea set in a wilderness of sand'. There is only an open roadstead, with no real harbour, good anchorage being obtained in seven or eight fathoms at about seven cables or upwards from the shore. The trade is mainly in dried fish; and the industries of the town are restricted principally to the manufacture of coarse cotton cloths and gunpowder.

2. **Makalla,** next to Aden the principal port on the southern coast of Arabia, is situated about 2½ miles NW. of Ras Makalla. It is built partly on a rocky point between two bays and partly in terraces